A message to all In fact readers

FOR the past six weeks, something that used to be a part of your life has been missing.

The daily diet of lies and distortions in your daily paper continues. But In Fact, the gallant "antidote" you used to receive each week, no longer drops into your mailbox. After ten fighting years George Seldes, the greatest crusading journalist of our time bar none, was forced to suspend publication.

To each of you we are sending this issue of NATIONAL GUARDIAN to show you that the fight against falsehood and fascism is still being waged. The GUARDIAN—born two years ago in the dying days of an era which saw In Fact born—sends you this cordial, pressing invitation to join our family of 75,000 grown up in those years: a family spread through cities, small towns and hamlets from Canada to Mexico and from ocean to ocean.

We want you to join our family because, like ourselves, you seek the truth and do not fear it—and because we know you share this conviction of ours:

THAT THE HOPES OF DEMOCRATIC AMERICA FOR A WORLD AT PEACE, FOR FULL ACHIEVEMENT OF AMERICA'S DEMOCRATIC PROMISE, FOR THE DEFEAT OF FASCISM HERE AND EVERYWHERE, DEPEND VITALLY AND PRIMARILY ON THE CONTINUANCE OF A PROGRESSIVE VOICE IN THE AMERICAN PRESS.

IN this time of our country's greatest crisis the GUARDIAN is the only national publication doing a thorough, week-by-week job of policing the press and fearlessly seeking out the truth behind the lies. (Read the story on p. 3 exposing the "Freedom Crusade" hoax, sold by the press as a campaign for "peace").

Our aim in broadcasting truth is that the cause of justice and peace be served. In one outstanding miscarriage of justice where the GUARDIAN alone spoke out—the case of the "Trenton Six"—this paper received major credit for saving six innocent men from execution. Fighters for traditional American freedoms in trade unions, on college campuses, in the political arena, look to the GUARDIAN as the only medium which will present their case fairly to the nation.

The GUARDIAN's staff does the publication-reading job you don't have time to do, digs out the nuggets of truth in the press of this and many other countries, and pieces them together with its own correspondents' reports into a running summary of the vital news.

The GUARDIAN keeps up to and ahead of the news with short, fact-filled analyses of trends taking shape in key sectors of a nation and a world in ferment.

The GUARDIAN reproduces week by week the best cartoons from the world's progressive press, adds lively pictorial comment by its own artists. It reviews the books that fit the news. It tells the consumer wih a slim pocket-book how to save money, and specializes in advertising of worthy buys in goods and services. It keeps you informed of the activities of progressive America.

The verdict of the 75,000 progressives who now read the GUARDIAN is that they would be lost without it. At a subscription rate of $2 a year (less than 4c a copy) they say it is the biggest bargain of all.

LIKE In Fact's, our family is a devoted one that builds the paper. It is really the same family—the heart of a progressive America that will never die. GUARDIAN readers feel that the paper belongs to them: they offer criticisms and suggestions freely. Our letters page is the liveliest in America.

We invite your criticisms too; but first, we of the GUARDIAN—staff and readers alike—ask you to join our family. Together we can be at least 125,000 strong. Together we can build that strength weekly, as we built In Fact in its time and as we have been building the GUARDIAN these last two years.

You are the people who know the need and have the know-how. We are your next door neighbors in the crusade for political decency and an honest, straight-shooting press in America. Let's get together.

—THE EDITORS

●

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE TWO, FILL IN THE COUPON—AND A HEARTY WELCOME TO YOU ALL!

IT'S DONE WITH A MIRROR

How to turn a 5-year-old Japanese machine-gun into a brand-new Russian one

IN 1945 a book by Harrison Forman, **Report from Red China**, was published. It had many pictures of the Chinese Red Army, among them one showing three smiling soldiers exhibiting machine-guns captured from the Japanese (the picture is reproduced right, top). The caption read: "Tsuo Chi (on the left), Chen Wai-on, and Liu Chuan-lieu, three heroes of the 77th Regiment. Tsuo Chi lost his right arm in the engagement in which these Japanese heavy machine-guns were captured."

On Oct. 28, 1950, the tabloid Los Angeles **Mirror** printed the same picture on page 2 (right, bottom) crediting "AP Wirephoto." The caption said: "THEY MAY BE FIGHTING IN KOREA TODAY. Grinning Chinese Communists display late model heavy machine guns of Russian design. Many reports of Chinese intervention in Korea battle are pouring in."

EDITORIAL AMPUTATION: The names of the soldiers had vanished, along with any indication that Tsuo Chi had one arm. The picture was cropped at his right shoulder. Surrounding the picture were stories with these headlines: "China Reds Aid Commies; Stem Big Advance" and "Christ Lives on 'Mid Red Terror."

On Nov. 4 the **Mirror** ran a letter in its Mailbag from a U. S. Marine saying the guns are "not Russian-designed, as you said, but leftovers from the Japs.'" The letter went on: "So please call a spade a spade. It will help us get out of this mess if we are honest. . . ."

An editor's note below read: "You and others who called us on this one are right. It was an unintentional error, not an effort to twist facts."

NOT OUR BABY: The West Coast **Daily People's World** got onto the story. A reporter called the **Mirror.** Picture was "not available," said the library. The reporter called AP. Not our picture, said AP, "and if you write anything on this make that clear.'" Then the **Mirror** came up with some news: It was an Acme picture.

At Acme, the picture was located. It was dated Oct. 27, sent from New York by Acme telephoto and bore this caption: "Kunuri, North Korea: Grinning Chinese troops wave as they practice with machine-guns. Maj. Gen. Yu Hae Hueng, Commander of the 2nd South Korean Corps, announced Oct. 27 that 40,000 Chinese Communist troops have entered Korea. Armed with heavy weapons, some of them are already fighting as part of a North Korean division."

Nothing about the machine-guns being Russian-made.

At Acme a staff member said: "Of course, all the Chinese photos which we have moved recently are old stuff . . . taken in the last war."

A NON-PACIFIC TYPE: From Acme the reporter went back to the **Mirror,** got an interview with assistant managing editor Phil Ault. The Marine's letter arrived Oct. 30, Ault said; "a few other letters and a few calls" followed.

He added: "It was an error made by a caption writer in the middle of the night. You see, the caption writer hadn't been in the Pacific. . . . He didn't recognize them as Japanese machine guns."

Asked if he didn't think it was dishonest to give the impression that the photo was a new one, Ault said: "I think you're stretching it a bit. I don't think we go farther than the Acme caption did. It was just the phrase about the machine guns of Russian design which bothered me."

NOTHING POLITICAL: Ault went on: "You know yourself if it had been of a political propaganda nature that a newspaper wouldn't let it go with one caption; there would be a campaign." He thought that the editor's note tacked onto the letter settled the matter, he said. Then, with a generous wave of his hand toward the news room, he said:

"Out here they are pretty well schooled in knowing that we don't want facts distorted."

And in the night the ghost of Horace Greeley made his mournful moan.

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the progressive newsweekly
Vol. 3, No. 5 NEW YORK, N. Y., NOVEMBER 22, 1950

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THE MAIL BAG

A 365-day job

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The election just concluded was a good lesson to the American voter, as well as to some of the disappointed politicians.

But judging by past experiences, the voters as a rule forget from one election to another. It is up to those who are interested that we here in the U. S. do retain our right to vote, to see to it that the VOTERS DO NOT FORGET. For that reason I ask you to kindly keep the I. P. P. leaders informed that it is necessary to be AWAKE ALL THE TIME. That is, to keep an active propaganda from now on until the election in Nov., 1952.

From what I have seen, the I.P.P. was hardly known during the time since the 1948 election. They did get busy the last few months but not enough was done to convince Mr. Voter which of the candidates has his interests at heart.

Jacob Solomon

Tell-tale picture

SYRACUSE, N.Y.

Thanks for the Nov. 1 issue. Tops! That picture of Lehman with Gen. Anders is a wonderful example of one-picture-worth-1,000-words. I am seeing to it that some leaders in the Jewish community see it.

Lillian E. Reiner

Hammer it home

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Perhaps the Progressives can hammer it home to the Democrats and labor leaders that the reason they lost so much ground in the election was because their entire campaign was based on the same issues as the Republicans.

They both campaigned on red-baiting and war-mongering so naturally the voters chose the best red-baiters and war-mongers.

Of course, pointing these things out to Mrs. Douglas and James Roosevelt will do little good except to chide them. But pointing it out to the rank-and-file voters and union members will help to swing them away from their phony leaders.

As the rank and file of labor realize the true implications of the election they will repudiate the bankrupt policies of the hierarchy in each major labor group, who have been singing the same tune as labor's worst enemies only to be slapped in the face by the very people to whom they were making the most simpering overtures.

Theodore Stuver

The Kennedy blackout

GAINESVILLE, FLA.

I told you I'd vote for Stetson Kennedy for U.S. Senator this week, but I didn't! The voting machine (in Gainesville) HAD NO PROVISION for writing in Kennedy's name. Smathers and Booth, the Big Men's candidates, were assigned levers on the voting machine. No instructions, nor space, nor lever, nor provision of any kind was provided for Kennedy.

Kennedy had telegraphed the authorities that he would make a test of the law about campaign literature in a voting booth. The law works a hardship on write-in candidates. Most voters would not otherwise have heard of Kennedy, since all but big corporations have been driven out of the U.S., to all effects and intentions.

Guy F. Rogers

Hit the streets!

NEW YORK, N.Y.

For some six months we canvassed for Marc and peace. The job we and all the other workers did was good—but not good enough. In the face of a coalition, total effort plus is needed. If there had been more canvassers—and make no mistake, the canvasser is the infantry of elections—if there had been greater effort prior to registration, if a lot more people had gotten up off their fannies, Marc might still be in Congress.

The lesson is clear: "talking" progressives will go right on losing. Working progressives can win. A buck here and there or a good lung-splitting rally don't win elections. Work, stair climbing, is the key. Our slogan should be: "Work—Sweat for Peace!"

Yes, canvassing is the way to build votes. It's also the way to build GUARDIAN circulation. When you get out and talk to people, no matter how many doors are slammed in your face, no matter how many misguided people want to throw you down the stairs—you meet the people. And you meet many whose minds are open enough to learn from the GUARDIAN.

To prove it, here are 10—just a start—to whom you can send 30-week trial subs. We have lots more and you'll get them from us as our money becomes available.

This is also a suggestion to other PP canvassers across the country: instead of contributions, send one buck for each good person you've canvassed. GUARDIAN can complete the job you've started.

To all others: get out and start climbing stairs. Hit the streets for peace! Never give up

They just don't know

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Again an important election has come and gone, and again too many people have voted WRONG. They are so thoroughly indoctrinated and conditioned by lying capitalist propaganda in Big Business's daily and periodical press, on the radio and television, and in movies and newsreels, that they just don't know who their real enemies are and refuse to recognize them even when these are clearly pointed out to them and the charges are documented. None are so blind as those who will not see. The mass of the people clearly have not the good judgment to vote for the best candidates even to the extent that they DO have a real choice of electing good candidates, such as ALP and Progressive Party candidates.

Andrew Vena

Beyond the pledge

RENSSELAERVILLE, N.Y.

I enclose $10 check, my 10th installment on $100. This completes the pledge I made last winter. However, I am so much in sympathy with your efforts that I shall continue monthly payments of $10—unless conditions change.

Lewis A. Eldridge Jr., M.D.

League of (some) voters

DANBURY, CONN.

I am enclosing a contribution of twenty five cents which I received as a refund when I canceled my subscription to the Connecticut Voter, a publication of the State League of Women Voters of Connecticut. In their issue this fall, they published information on the candidates seeking office in the November elections. The issue gave no information of People's Party candidates, although information was given on Republican and Democratic candidates for the same offices.

I felt this was a violation of the supposedly non-partisan policy of the League of Women Voters. I so indicated in a letter of protest to the State office. When I was informed by this office that the omission was not an error, but a deliberate policy of the State Executive Board, I canceled my sub.

Lois Fahs Timmins

Crooks by either label

OTTAWA, ILL.

In the last, as in other elections, we can sympathize with labor (and we DO) but that is about all. One thing is certain: we cannot commend labor. Every time that labor goes to the polls (no matter how secret its vote may be) labor sells itself short under the mistaken notion that before it votes for itself, it must vote the crooks out of office; which means, of course, that it must vote for those it KNOWS to be crooks in the other major party. Labor cannot say it does not know that they, too, are crooks, for it does.

By this time, experience should have taught labor that this is a vicious circle.

J. T. Cox

From a "Detainee"

TERMINAL ISLAND, CALIF.

Just a note of appreciation for your courageous and effective weekly, which merits much wider circulation than it has. We four detained here — Miriam Stevenson, David Hyun, Frank Carson and I — are happy to be able to read of your battle for repeal of the McCarran Law, as well as your denunciation of the Gestapo-like application of its provisions to the foreign-born.

This particular station, being in the agricultural-industrial produce area of the U.S., has its own peculiar characteristics, for the bulk of men and women who flow through its meshes of official procedure are Mexican field workers or seasonal migrants. After their sweat and toil, they try to stay in this land of milk and honey and high prices, but are picked up and transported back across the border until their muscle is needed again to enrich the crop owners. Nevertheless, there is a veritable UN in miniature here, too —seamen, adventurers, misplaced-displaced persons and victims of complicated technical details (to say nothing of police-state "detainees.")

No doubt you hear, or will hear, from others in our predicament in various detention stations. We follow your efforts hopefully knowing that for all the fight that is possible in the courts (and in our case the results so far are dismal), the ultimate victory lies with an aroused populace acting with acute political intelligence in a resolute spirit—like the people of Jefferson's day who swept the Alien and Sedition Laws of that time into dismal obscurity.

Harry Carlisle
U.S. Immigration Detention Service

A bouquet from France

The following appeared last month in Pierre Abraham's column in Les Lettres Francaises, *the famous French weekly devoted to progressive literature and art. M. Abraham is the director of the magazine* Europe, *founded by Romain Rolland.*

YOU know those sumptuous magazines that come from America with hundreds of pages illustrated in color, stuffed with flashy advertising and with alluring pin-up girls on the cover? Well, out of the crowd at a meeting on Saturday emerged an American who handed me a different kind of publication: of modest format, printed in black and white on eight pages, with little advertising. It was obvious at a glance that the big corporations with the big advertising budgets don't care to patronize this paper.

There on the front page was a reproduction of the Bill of Rights as included in the United States Constitution on December 15, 1791—of which the first article, singularly eloquent in 1950, contains these words easily understood by all:

"Congress shall make no law... abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble."

Side by side with this reproduction, an editorial accuses the United States' 81st Congress of having abolished the spirit of the Bill of Rights in voting "ant-subversive" laws which consign dissenters to a "social and economic ghetto" while concentration camps are prepared for them. It compares the policy of Washington with that of Hitler, and vows to continue denouncing "the hypocrisy of proclaiming peace while preparing and making war, of proclaiming democracy while destroying democracy at home and abroad."

ISN'T it reassuring to know that in America courageous citizens continue, in the difficult conditions of which we have spoken, the fight against "money-power entrenched in the Congress and in the White House"? Shall we not want to follow their efforts and to help them?

Of course our first duty is to help our own progressive press, now more than ever in need of help and counting on us to survive. Nevertheless I think I should make known to those who would be interested the existence of this progressive weekly—"NATIONAL GUARDIAN", whose office is at 17 Murray Street, New York 7, U.S.A.

Justice for Hollywood 8

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

One of the Hollywood Ten, Edward Dmytryk, already has completed his six-month sentence for contempt of Congress, and Herbert Biberman's six-month term will expire Nov. 28. Both Dmytryk and Biberman received six-month sentences, whereas the other eight of the Hollywood Ten received the maximum of one year. Each of the Ten was fined $1,000. The fines have all been paid.

All ten cases were absolutely identical, were based upon the same points of law, the same constitutional issues and the same general legal defense. Due to the accident of crowded court calendars the ten cases were heard finally by three different judges. Biberman and Dmytryk appeared before Judge Keech who considered six months as ample punishment. But Judges Curran and Pine, on the basis of the same legal pattern, meted out one-year terms.

There is no justification in law or ethics for eight men to remain in prison, when two of their colleagues have already been released. May we earnestly request your readers to write immediately to the U.S. Parole Board, Washington, D.C., asking the Board in the interest of simple justice and fair play to grant immediate release to Messrs. Bessie, Cole, Lawson, Lardner, Maltz, Ornitz and Trumbo (all of whom will have served six months of their one-year terms as of Nov. 28) and to release Adrian Scott when he has completed six months of his one-year term.

Waldo Salt, Committee to Free the Hollywood Ten

We're broke ALL year

BRONX, N.Y.

You are without a doubt the clearest-thinking publication in America today, the voice of a real America which I hope and pray will arise from the wreckage of our institutions and our heritage which surrounds us today. Please go on printing. I have just renewed, and am broke at this time of the year, but enclose $2.

Florence Efrein

Tops 'em all

SANTA MONICA, CALIF.

Having been a supporter of the people's press from **Wilshire's Magazine**, the **Liberator**, old and new **Masses**, New York **Call**, the **Appeal to Reason** and **In Fact**—in my opinion the GUARDIAN tops them all. I have loved all of them but the GUARDIAN has renewed my faith and hope. May you live long.

Harvey Remsen

Free to In fact Readers

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The fraud of the 'Freedom Crusade'

By Tabitha Petran

OF all the hoaxes inflicted on the American people since the cold war, couched in fair phrases about "freedom," "truth," "democracy" etc., the most audacious and dangerous was the recent "Freedom Crusade," latest feature of which was the sending of a "Freedom Bell" to Berlin with signatures of 1,000,000 Americans to an innocent-seeming declaration of ideals.

The Crusade stems out of President Truman's call in April, 1949, for "the imagination and energies of private individuals and groups" to be applied to "a more effective national effort to use the great power of truth in working for peace." In their present confusion of mind brought about by a daily diet of lies, most Americans have not stopped to ask: What truth? Freedom for whom, to do what?

Investigation makes the answers clear. It was a group of the most reactionary U. S. money-power men who a few weeks after Truman's call answered it by founding the Natl. Committee for a Free Europe, Inc. The committee in its first year reported a $600,000 budget but would not name the fund sources because of the "exceedingly sensitive political operation" involved.

OFFICIALLY UNOFFICIAL: Last July 4 a secretly-located radio station in West Germany began broadcasting programs beamed at Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Rumania six hours a day, seven days a week. By September the committee had Presidential blessing to expand to a network of from five to eight secret radio stations in Europe. On Sept. 4 Gen. Eisenhower, opening the committee's "Crusade for Freedom" at Denver, said:

> "We need powerful radio stations abroad, operated without governmental restrictions."

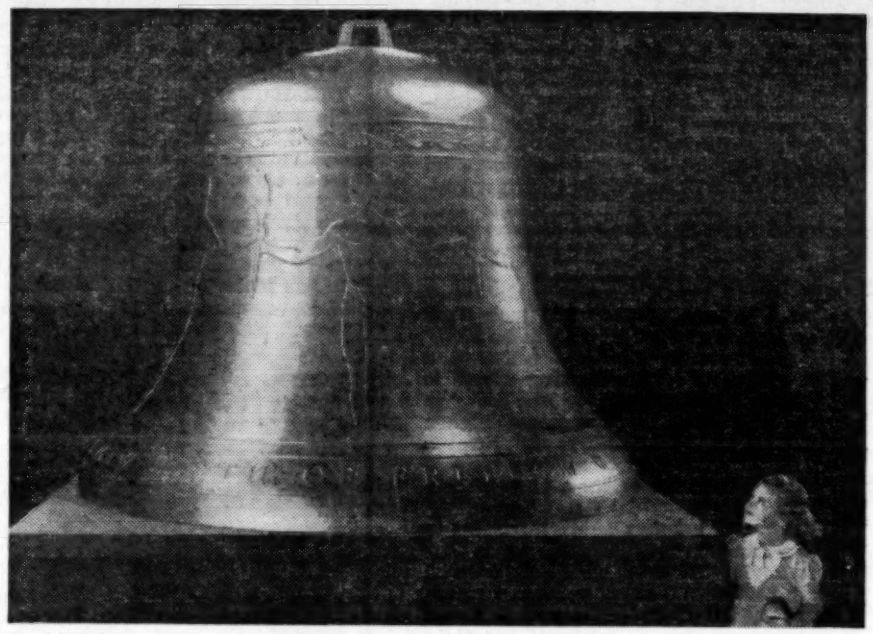
Anyone to whom Eisenhower's meaning wasn't entirely clear could get the point from a follow-up editorial in the Chicago **Sun-Times:**

> There are certain things our government doesn't want to say or do. For instance it can't . . . openly call upon the Poles, the Czechoslovaks, or any other people, to revolt. . . . If the U. S. used the Voice of America to try to overthrow these Communist governments, it would be guilty of an unfriendly act leading toward war. The Voice therefore must remain comparatively mild and polite. Yet there is a need for Americans, as private citizens, to be tough and rude. . . .

SABOTAGE, INC.: Actually, the membership of the Natl. Committee for a Free Europe and the timing of its appearance showed it to be a government-sponsored private arm of Project X—the spy, sabotage and assassination program directed at overthrowing the new governments of Eastern Europe (GUARDIAN, Nov. 23, 1948). It was organized just as Congress granted the Central Intelligence Authority vast new powers to carry out Project X. Its membership is heavily seasoned with discredited diplomats and O.S.S. (World War II Intelligence) and army brass, with a pious facade provided by Cardinal Spellman and labor leaders (William Green, Phillip Murray, James Carey) who have abandoned the struggle for labor.

The committee was organized by De Witt C. Poole, O. S. S. Foreign Nationalities Director from 1941 to 1945, four of whose 26 years in the diplomatic service (1916-19) were served in Moscow when foreign embassies there were centers of sabotage and bribery plots against the Russian Revolution. Executive committee chairman and guiding spirit is Allen Dulles, key O. S. S. man who during the war worked in Switzerland with the Schacht group and other Nazis to save Hitler's financial backers. A partner of the powerful law firm of Sullivan & Cromwell, he was long associated with the N. Y. Schroder banking interests, linked in the U. S. to the Rockefellers and abroad to the Anglo-German combine that backed Hitler.

FRIENDS OF THE FAMILY: Gen. Lucius D. Clay, who was picked to head the Crusade, wrote for the Hearst press an article prophesying that "the Underground" in "all iron curtain countries" would rally to the symbol of the Berlin "freedom bell." The N.Y. **Herald Tribune's** Russell Hill wrote from Berlin that Clay had "shown how a beginning may be made" toward making East European countries "worry about fifth columns in their own rear." Clay was the original Military Governor of Germany who submitted to U.S. money-power pressure to abandon FDR's decartelization program, and freed such Nazi war criminals as Ilse Koch of Buchenwald. His services to big business did not go unrewarded. On his return to the U. S. he was named director of Lehman Corp., board chairman of Continental Can, director of Morgan's Newmont Mining Co. and Marine Midland Trust (Schoellkopf-Rockefeller-Morgan), and a member of the Business Advisory Council to the Dept. of Commerce—a business group more influential than the NAM.



Once American school children learned to cherish the bell-with-a-crack-in-it that rests in Philadelphia's Independence Hall. Now "Freedom Crusaders" use them as a decoy for a program of hate, collecting their dimes to send this ersatz bell (above) to Berlin, "freedom's" new capital.

Free Europe's board chairman is former Ambassador to Japan Joseph C. Grew. Related by marriage to the Morgan family, Grew is a director of World Commerce Corp., a curious outfit set up in 1945 by, among others, the Mellons and Gianninis (both prominently represented in Free Europe and Freeedom Crusade) for the declared purpose of supplying raw materials and equipment to countries "sympathetic to the democratic ideal of free enterprise." This corporation opened branches all over the world—often in premises used by Allied intelligence during the war, and frequently employing the same people; its organizers included the former heads of both British and U.S. intelligence, Sir William Stephenson and William Donovan. Former O. S. S. chief Donovan, a founder of the American Legion, linked by marriage to the Harriman family, is a charter member of Free Europe.

MEN OF EXPERIENCE: Treasurer of Free Europe is Herbert Lehman's brother-in-law Frank Altschul, former partner of the international bankers Lazard Freres, now head of General American Investors Co., Lehman-Lazard holding company. Active in the NAM, he was a contributor to the anti-labor Johnstown Committee in 1937.

Other diplomats and foreign service men in Free Europe include:

> ARTHUR BLISS LANE, Ambassador to Poland 1945-47, accused by the Polish government of being involved with anti-government plotters.
>
> ADOLF BERLE, chairman of the Liberal Party, professional anti-communist; former Asst. Secy. of State and Ambassador to Brazil, where (Brazilian progressives charged) he directed counter-revolutionary plotting.
>
> ROBERT WOODS BLISS, 30 years' diplomatic service in Russia and Western Europe.
>
> WILLIAM L. CLAYTON, former Asst. Secy. of State, a partner of Anderson & Clayton, world's biggest cotton factors.

Both Clayton and Bliss were on the Natl. Executive Committee of the American Liberty League (Clayton gave it $7,750), which was founded in 1934 in a second attempt by the Morgans and DuPonts to set up a fascist movement modeled on the French Croix de Feu. Morgan's first attempt had failed when Marine General Smedley Butler, selected as its "man on the white horse," wouldn't play along and exposed it. Key figure in the plot was Grayson M. P. Murphy, investment banker very close to J. P. Morgan of the Liberty League. Murphy's partner during all this time was Frederick Osborne, son of Alice Dodge of the Phelps Dodge copper family allied to the Morgans. Osborne is N.Y. chief of Freedom Crusade.

THESE CHARMING PEOPLE: Other prominent Freedom Crusaders who were top men in the American Liberty League are:

> HAROLD J. GALLAGHER, one of a subcommittee of eight which wrote the famous directives urging Americans not to obey New Deal laws even if they had not been declared unconstitutional.
>
> THURMOND CHATHAM, member of the extreme right-wing Southern Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government; related by marriage to Morgan lieutenant John W. Hanes.

Former army and Military Government members of Free Europe and Freedom Crusaders include:

> ROBERT PATTERSON, former Secy. of War, close to the Rockefellers.
>
> GEN. HUGH A. DRUM, pres. of DuPont's Empire State Building and long-time supporter of Merwin K. Hart.

Industrialists:

> CHARLES R. HOOK, board chairman of Mellon's American Rolling Mill (called by the Anti-Defamation League one of the biggest contributors to hate groups), supporter of Frank Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government.
>
> HARRY BULLIS, pres. of Morgan's General Mills.
>
> PHILIP D. REED, board chairman of Morgan's Intl. GE, and pres. of the Intl. Chamber of Commerce, pro-German association of cartel groups.

ONE WHO IS FRANK: L. M. Giannini, head of Bank of America (the world's largest) and one of the biggest stockholders in Morgan's National City Bank, is the Crusade's West Coast director. He was the U. of California regent who did most to saddle the employes of that institution with a hated and bitterly-fought loyalty oath. When the other regents favored an oath requirement slightly milder than Giannini's, he promptly tendered his resignation (since accepted) and declared:

> "I can't stand for this socialist-communist trend in this country. I want to organize 20th Century vigilantes . . . and I will if necessary."

Giannini has the virtue of being frank about the kind of freedom for which he is crusading. Most circulators of the "freedom scroll" were as vague about it as the signers. "Volunteer" circulators were assigned their tasks by their employers; other employes signed or else. In many places, policemen and firemen were given off-duty chores in behalf of the crusade. Top-ranking crusaders invaded class rooms to wangle signatures and dime contributions from school kids' pocket money.

Such a crusade conducted by such dangerous people, to cloak with popular support an explosive adventure in organized subversion, can conceivably lead to a full-scale shooting war. What would have been unbelievable up to a few years ago is that the U. S. government, far from being responsible enough to restrain efforts of private citizens to overthrow foreign governments, supports the entire project. When the Free Europe Committee was formed, Secy. Acheson greeted it with these words:

> The State Dept. is very happy to see the formation of this group. It thinks that the purpose of the organization is excellent, and is glad to welcome its entrance into this field and give it its hearty endorsement.

The kind of news you get in Guardian is priceless. Help our sub drive!

". . . And we've had valuable experience shooting down unarmed American prisoners at Malmedy."

THE WORLD

Truman in global-size dilemma as "Peking Men" arrive

Something has gone terribly wrong ... We are chasing each other around in vicious circles ... There is a powerful element of escapism in French policy ... Britain is dragging her feet ... The problem of German rearmament ... is equally baffling. **N. Y. Times, Nov. 20.**

Mr. Acheson may not recognize Mao Tse-tung, but he can no longer fail to recognize Mao Tse-tung's army ... The war has reached a point where people in Washington are talking about the possibility of an armistice.

James Reston, N. Y. Times, Nov. 19.

THE crisis on the Chinese-Korean frontier faced U.S. foreign policy with a first class crisis. With the bulk of U.S. military might already engaged in Korea, China stood ready to resist any aggression with a huge modernized fighting force and showed no signs of being intimidated. In realistic military terms the prospects in a war with China —if it should come to that—were dim. As the GUARDIAN's Max Werner pointed out,

> **China is vulnerable to strategic bombing and the air-atomic offensive [but] in its turn has a counter-retaliation. Once theatened from the air, the Chinese Army can move almost unopposed into Hong Kong, Indo-China, Malaya, Siam and Burma, taking from the West priceless areas of raw material supply and important strategic positions.**

The Far Eastern balance of forces was only one reason why Washington

Daily Express, London

"Sometimes I can't help wondering just how long it'll be before rather similar stories appear in the Martian Press."

dared not go forward into full-scale war. The very threat of such action was splitting its Atlantic coalition. Yet under the political propaganda fire of Chiang Kai-shek's American friends who scored in the recent elections, retreat seemed impossible for the Administration.

TITO VS. CHIANG: The demands from Western Europe were insistent, and the Administration did not have enough to go around. President Truman wired from his yacht to congressional leaders that he would submit an $85,000,000 program of aid to Yugoslavia without which, he said, the ex-Cominform rebel Tito would be unable to "control subversive elements" as famine looms in that country. The Republicans led by triumphant Sen. Taft (Ohio) would not hear of it. From Chiang Kai-shek's island of Formosa Sen. William F. Knowland (Calif.) cabled that he would "vigorously oppose" aid to Tito while Formosa, where "freedom" reigns, is left in the cold. Meanwhile, the U.S. drive to gear West Europe's "defense" to a rearmed Germany received a blow when the anti-rearmament Socialists swept the elections in two U.S. Zone German states.

Trying to walk a tight-rope, Secy. Acheson implored China to believe that the U.S. had no ulterior designs on Manchuria (China refused to believe it), and found a new word for the Taft-led Republican critics: "re-examinists."

Sen. Ralph Flanders (R-Vt.) replied:

> **"I shall be a re-examinist . . . because I think the people made it clear that is what they want."**

In the N. Y. Times James Reston said that Mao's army had "made a re-examinist out of Mr. Acheson himself."

"PEKING MEN": Delegates from the new China were expected at Lake Success on Nov. 24; they are coming in reply to an invitation on Oct. 2 to participate in Security Council talks on charges of U.S. aggression against Formosa. While all further moves seemed stalled pending their arrival, the press was filled with ominous questions as to "what Mao is up to". The N.Y. **Herald Tribune's** John G. Rogers asked: "What does a Chinese Communist look like? How does he talk? How does he act?" He proceeded to refer to them as "the Peking men." ("The Peking Man" is anthropologists' term for the Ice Age race in China, of "somewhat higher type" than Pithecanthropus Erectus whose "relationship to modern man is remote but is closer than that of any of the apes").

By way of helping Western nations to understand "what Mao is up to" in Korea, Soviet UN delegate Malik ordered read into the Council record a statement by the Chinese Foreign Ministry which compared Chinese volunteers in Korea with French volunteers led by Lafayette in the American Revolution and the international brigades in Spain. The document listed with a wealth of detail 84 air violations, including bombings, by the U.S. Air Force over Northeast China.

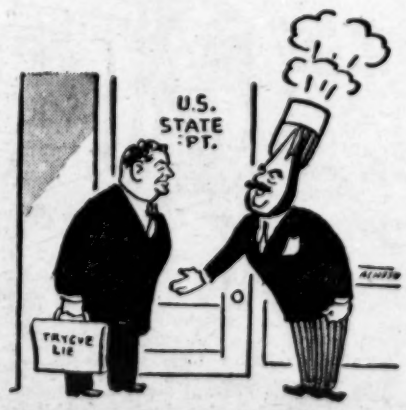
But a glaring light was thrown on U.S. maneuverings when UN reporters uncovered a story of double-dealing with regard to the Peking delegation's appearance. The press suppressed this story:

A TALE OF 9 VISAS: On Nov. 9 U.S. delegation spokesman Porter McKeever issued a statement saying that the U.S., Britain and France (the last two names typed over the line as a last-minute addition) had requested the Security Council to take up "Chinese intervention" in Korea. It said:

> **Thus far, we had not been able to ascertain when the Chinese delegation is likely to arrive. . . . However, the Council must move ahead. It cannot allow Communist China, by timing their arrival at Lake Success to fit their own choice and purpose, to impede the operation of the Council.**

But three days later the UN issued an exchange of communications between Peking and UN headquarters at the request of certain reporters who wondered why a press officer rather than a member of the U.S. delegation had endorsed the Nov. 9 statement. This exchange showed that Peking had asked for visas for its nine-man delegation on Oct. 23. But it was not until Oct. 27 that Secy.-Gen. Lie cabled Peking that he had forwarded the visa request to the U.S. government. And it was not until Nov. 7—election day—that Lie cabled Peking that the U.S. had granted the visas.

Trygve Lie's UN Secretariat had allowed the U.S. to accuse the Chinese of deliberately delaying their arrival to suit their own purposes, although it held in its own hands the documents showing the U.S. was lying. UN delegation members and the press corps were disgusted when the facts came out but made no protests.



Daily Worker, London

"We want peace too, Mr. Lie . . ."

A tale of two states: Why Ohio an

Special to the GUARDIAN

CLEVELAND, OHIO

WHY did Ohio workingmen and women vote for Robert A. Taft of Taft-Hartley? At the same time why did more than twice as many Clevelanders vote for Hugh DeLacy, Progressive Party candidate for state assemblyman, as voted for Wallace in 1948?

And how is it that in a dark year, the Independent Progressive Party of California polled the greatest third-party vote, short of LaFollette's, in the state's history, nearly doubled the 1948 Wallace vote and for the first time topped New York's progressive vote?

Here is the story of two states:

THERE are ample grounds to believe that the Democrats deliberately picked Jumping Joe Ferguson to lose to Sen. Robert A. Taft.

State Auditor Ferguson's campaign

TAFT TRIUMPHANT
You can fool most of the . . .

assets seemed to be no more than a cheery smile and an addition to what one reporter described as "cravats of fried-egg design with splotches of purple polka-dots." He was picked by the bosses without consultation with labor that was supposed to elect him.

From the start the fight looked fixed. The Democratic party standard-bearer Gov. Frank Lausche, up to election day, refused to say whether he himself would vote for Taft or Ferguson. Vice-President Alben Barkley came to stump for Ferguson but announced on his arrival: "I am making no personal attack on Mr. Taft. He and I are friends." Cleveland newspapers and the Chamber of Commerce joined in endorsing Democrat Lausche and Republican Taft.

HOW CRAZY CAN YOU GET? Scarcely mentioning Taft-Hartley in campaign against Taft, the CIO found a weird angle of attack in red-baiting "Mr. Republican": it triumphantly listed items on which Taft had voted with Marcantonio. The Democrats' prize exhibit was a photo (obscurely admitted in the caption to be "composite") showing Taft and Earl Browder together. Lausche asked, apparently seriously: "Is Taft still having meetings with Browder?"

The only large labor organization seeming to hold Taft-Hartley against Taft was the United Mine Workers. Of the four counties Taft lost, two were UMW strongholds.

In the face of such opposition Taft could hardly lose. He himself campaigned like a whirlwind. While he stirred crusades against communism he was careful to pin responsibility for the Korean war on the Democratic Administration.

Elwood Dietrich, Ohio director of the CIO Political Action Committee, told the GUARDIAN:

> **"I don't think you can isolate this election from what's happened in the rest of the country. If there's any one factor I think it's the fact that the people are terribly worried about the possibility of another war. I can't make up my mind why they think Robert Taft should be able to prevent war, but it probably has something to do with the fact that he's remembered as an isolationist."**

PP DID WELL: The opportunity tossed away by the Democrats and labor brass was clearly shown in the vote progressive Ohioans gave Hugh DeLacy, running for assemblyman from Cuyahoga Co. which takes in greater Cleveland. Though he ran last, his vote more than doubled Wallace's 1948 vote in the area. (35,388 to 17,000). The PP had no functioning ward apparatus; nevertheless

SYRIA LIFTS THE VEIL: In the Assembly's Political Committee, John Foster Dulles of the U.S. asked that discussion of a U.S. resolution on the future of Formosa be deferred and placed last on the agenda. He said the whole area might soon be involved in war.

But the real reasons for the U.S. action were apparent in the embarrassing contradiction in its own position. Syria's Faris El Khouri pointed out:

> **"We are discussing not the future of Formosa but the question of which Chinese government we recognize. If Formosa does not belong to China, there is no Chiang Kai-shek government. If it does, there is no question of Formosa."**

The Scripps Howard press accused the Administration of "hysterical efforts to make a deal." But both the N.Y. **Times** and **Herald Tribune** came out for negotiations with Peking while warning against a "new Munich." The St. Louis **Star-Times** called for recognition of China, and its admission to the UN, as the basis for a peaceful settlement in Korea.

Press drops curtain on Korean horrors

Three . . . bombers whipped down to the valley, whirled around and came back again. . . . They knew what they were doing. They knew they were destroying private houses in a helpless village in a country which had given them no cause of offense—and people in these houses if they were not quick enough. The story of air warfare of this sort has been told and retold—in Ethiopia, Spain, Poland, Finland, Norway. It is not an accidental "atrocity" needing a Bryce commission to prove or disprove it. It is an attested, studied, boasted method of attack. These are the gangsters of the air. Maybe they gain a temporary military advantage. They gain it by building up a world-wide horror and contempt which some day, be it late or soon, will plow them under.

Thus editorialized the N.Y. **Times** on May 10, 1940. It was commenting on an eye-witness account of the Nazi bombing of Elverum, Norway. This month in Korea, where hundreds of villages have been set to the torch and most of the cities leveled by U.S. bombing attacks, the U.S. Air Force in 30 minutes destroyed the city of Sinuiju, where 100,000 people lived on the Korean side of the Yalu River. Sinuiju touched the Manchurian city of Antung on the opposite bank of the Yalu. They were in effect one city divided by a river. AP correspondent Hal Boyle reported:

> **Ever see a city die? In this age of power, and speed, the death can be as swift as it is terrible. That was the way it was at Sinuiju. . . . It was noon when the growling rumble of the approaching U.S. Superforts gave the first warning of doom. . . . At 12:07 the first flight of B-29 Superforts let go with what they had brought. The bombs fell at the northwest edge of the city. Flight by flight the bombers let go. Step by step the city below was destroyed. The clay walls fell apart in the heat. The straw roofs burned. The wood flamed. And the people died or fled.**

In ten days 12 similar attacks leveled towns and cities near the border. One town of 45,000, Hoeryong, 41 miles from Russia, was destroyed in 11 minutes.

ICE & BLOOD: Throughout Korea guerrilla warfare grew in intensity; headquarters spokesmen spoke of "heavy fighting" far behind the battle lines against centrally-directed groups. Withdrawals in some areas by North

nd California went the way they did

the campaign organ **Independent Voter** carried the PP program of peace and progress to an estimated 200,000 by door-to-door canvassing.

Greatly heartened by its own returns, the Ohio PP made immediate plans to go on a year-round basis, pushing its rent-control campaign and maintaining its weekly broadcasts.

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The Washington Star

Special to the GUARDIAN

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

"IT amounted to this," said Robert W. Kenny, independent candidate for mayor of Los Angeles: "the Democrats pleaded guilty to the charges and hoped for a suspended sentence."

The war, high taxes and prices accounted in large measure for defeat of the Democrats. Their answer was to shout red louder than the Republicans, who were better experienced in that brand of debate.

In the Senate race, to counter Republican Richard Nixon of the House Un-American Activities Committee, Democrat Helen Gahagan Douglas brought in to stump for her F. Joseph Donohue, the federal prosecutor in the Harry Bridges case. Donohue said Mrs. Douglas "had done more to prevent communism than anyone else in Congress."

Democrat James Roosevelt competed with Republican Gov. Earl Warren in schemes to save the state from red atom bombs.

Warren and Nixon won in a walk.

IPP IMPRESSIVE: Some 300,000 Californians, though, turned not to the Republicans but to the Independent Progressive Party. The IPP vote heartened progressives all over the country.

George Walsh, former official of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union running for secretary of state, polled close to 300,000 votes, three times the number required to keep the IPP on the ballot.

Mrs. Alia Washington, for controller, and PP Chairman Reuben Borough, for treasurer, were running only slightly behind Walsh.

In Alameda County, Rev. G. Linwood Fauntleroy for state senator got more than 40,000 votes.

In San Mateo County John A. Peterson seemed likely to lead all IPP congressional candidates with more than 30,000.

Complete totals for other IPP candidates were:

Charlotta Bass, 14th CD	13,153
William B. Esterman, 21st	26,074
Jeanne Cole, 15th	16,553
Ellen P. Davidson, 13th	14,731

TENNEY AND RUM: State Sen. Jack Tenney, who ran a little Un-American Activities Committee, was opposed only by a Prohibition candidate, Henry R. Schmidt. Tenney won, but Schmidt polled 191,555. It was a record dry vote in Los Angeles County, but Schmidt's strength lay more in the popular opposition to Tenney than to hard liquor.

The general Republican tide seemed to have kept Los Angeles Mayor Fletcher Bowron in office, but the Ordinary Citizens Committee, which sponsored the move to recall him, immediately challenged the count. Committee Chairman O. K. Jones charged that in many precincts the total vote on the recall exceeded the registration.

All precincts used illegal cardboard ballot boxes. In the vote for mayor (if Bowron were recalled), Kenny ran second, with 72,051 votes, to city engineer Lloyd Aldrich, backed by the AFL, with 189,181.

IPP chairman Reuben Borough summed up:

> **"These 300,000 votes were the votes of citizens rejecting war and embracing the ideals of a progressive America at peace with the world. . . . A new and vital people's party is rising in California and the nation."**

Brotherly love in the phone strike

To help scabs, Philadelphia police assault picketing telephone equipment workers. Long-lines operators refused to cross picket lines, were locked out when lines were withdrawn. On the 11th day the strike was settled in what CIO Communication Workers described as "a magnificent victory": Western Electric agreed to a straight 15-month pact upping wages an average of 11c an hour.

PEACE

Warsaw hails delegates barred by Attlee from England

PRIME Minister Clement Attlee of Britain had done his best to make the second World Peace Congress impossible. As the N.Y. **Times** put it, begging pardon for "chuckling":

> **He temporized, refused a great many visas, granted others, and then kept the recipients out of the country and generally held his fire until it was too late to have the congress call it off.**

The **Times** chuckled too soon. On Thursday night the congress officially opened in Warsaw with more than 2,000 delegates from 70 countries in attendance. The Polish government had opened its borders wide, required no visas, asked no questions. It made available two ships and special trains to bring the delegates in. The Czech airlines, with co-operation from other European lines, set up special airlifts from London, Paris and Brussels. One of Warsaw's newest and finest buildings was provided for the congress. The entire city was decorated in gala fashion.

Delegates were greeted by 10,000 students who marched to the main railway station; girls handed bouquets to arriving delegates; army bands played; a special arch decorated with the flags of many nations led into the city; all taxicabs bore peace stickers on their windshields.

EVEN WINSTON WINCED: In Britain public opinion on all levels was outraged by Attlee's performance. Arch-Tory Winston Churchill complained in Commons that it had "laid us open to much abuse." Protests came from all over the world. Prof. Joseph Fletcher, head of the congress sponsoring committee in the U.S., called it "a stupid and disheartening move." To the UN Human Rights Commission went a formal complaint that Britain had violateed the UN declaration of freedom of travel and communications.

Labour MP Sir Richard Acland charged in Commons that 33 Americans, including Dr. Willard Uphaus, head of the Natl. Religion and Labor Foundation of New Haven, Conn., had been detained incommunicado at a British airport and questioned for five hours before being expelled from the country.

LIVING TOGETHER: Frederic Joliot-Curie, French atomic scientist and head of the world peace organization, opened the congress with a declaration that the eastern and western worlds can live in peace together:

> **"Whosoever says it is impossible is a warmonger and ought to be exposed and condemned."**

The opening session elected a presiding committee which included four Americans, none of whom was present: Paul Robeson, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Prof. Fletcher and Howard Fast. Both Robeson and Fast had been denied passports to attend. Seven commissions were set up to prepare plans for extending the work of the world peace organization.

ROGGE DISSENTS: O. John Rogge, former assistant U.S. Attorney General, a registered lobbyist for Yugoslavia and that country's legal representative in the U.S. at $10,000 a year retainer, told the congress that he would not now sign the Stockholm Peace Pledge,

PABLO PICASSO
Arriving at Sheffield

calling for a ban on the atom bomb, because the Soviet Union and not the U.S. had resorted to war in Korea. He told Chinese delegates present that he was disappointed because their country had not followed the lead of Yugoslavia. His speech was interrupted four times by boos, but the audience was shushed to silence by the chairman who reminded delegates that the congress had guaranteed a hearing to all opinions on the question of world peace.

Other U.S. delegates urged the Truman government to engage in a "friendly 10-year competition with the Soviet Union" to determine "which nation can more effectively advance the general welfare."

Krokodil, Moscow

A Russian view of U.S. Far Eastern policy.

Koreans and Chinese, with probings for weak spots in others, indicated adoption of the type of unorthodox warfare perfected by Mao Tse-tung which defeated Chiang in China.

On Monday U.S. troops were reported within two miles of the frontier at one central point. The temperature fell below zero and warm clothing was being rushed belatedly to the troops for the winter campaign the Pentagon did not expect. The token battalion sent from the Philippines were freezing in their thin uniforms; their commander, Col. Mariano C. Azurin, in a restrained statement said their morale was "very low." He protested to Philippines President Quirino that contrary to the UN agreement his troops had been transferred to an American command.

DON'T PRINT THAT: In London Tom Hopkinson, editor of **Picture Post** (2,000,000 circulation), was fired for insisting on printing an appeal to the UN, from the **Post's** Korean correspondent James Cameron, against South Korean atrocities perpetrated under the UN flag. The appeal was included in proof copy of the Nov. 4 issue but was removed on the orders of publisher Edward Hulton.

Cameron described the torture of prisoners regarded as "possible opponents" of the Rhee regime. He saw them almost naked and emaciated, bound by ropes, driven through the streets of Pusan, and "compelled to crouch . . . in pools of garbage." He wrote:

> **The UN delegation in Korea to whom I went in protest said: "We wish you would try to do something about it; we can't. . . ." The International Red Cross said: "It's shameful, but there you are: everyone here knows that the UN here means the U. S. Army, and that means Gen. MacArthur and he's in Tokyo. . . ."**
>
> **In the practical sense, of course, this campaign is 100% a MacArthur show, militarily and politically. . . . Yet barbaric scenes . . . [took place] under the blue-and-silver olive branch banner of the UN, with all our supervisors claiming they are unable (because they haven't tried) to stop the excesses of a domestic Government that is about as democratic and high-principled as Caligula's Rome. . . .**
>
> **. . . . Firm action from the military commanders could stop it. They know, because they have told me, that they are perfectly aware of what goes on, the imprisonments without trial, the processing of suspects, the beatings up, the tapings of thumbs to the terminals of field telephones, and they say: "We are pretty busy with other things."**

Don't be an "armchair progressive." Get subs — Send $$ to the Guardian.

Will the pattern be repeated?

Thirty-one years ago, in December, 1919, aliens caught in Attorney General Palmer's witchhunting roundup were packed aboard ship at Ellis Island for deportation. Public protest finally put a stop to the hysteria. It can do it again.

FREEDOMS

16 non-citizens held on Ellis I. without bail are freed

IT is "arbitrary and an abuse of discretion on the part of the Attorney General" to hold without bail the non-citizens caught in its dragnet, Federal Judge Sylvester J. Ryan ruled last week.

The judge's decision set at liberty under bail 16 non-citizens imprisoned on Ellis Island for several weeks when "aliens" were rounded up all over the country under provisions of the McCarran Act.

The government had charged that the freedom of the 16 endangered the nation's security and that each had transferred his allegiance to a foreign power. The judge found "not a scintilla" of evidence of such transfer and concerning the security risk, commented:

> "As to the factual evidence on which the government based this conclusion the court has not been advised."

FASTIDIOUS: At the time of their imprisonment on Ellis Island deportation proceedings had been under way against each of the 16, who then were free under bail. The judge found they had "observed fastidiously all conditions of the bond under which they were released."

The release of the 16 came after a flood of protests (sparked by the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born), not only against the jailing without bail but also against the belt-line schedule by which 19 deportation hearings were to be rushed through in 10 days.

NATIONAL SCORE: The first McCarran Act roundup last month jailed 45 other non-citizens around the country as a "test" of the new law. By last week 20 of those had been released on bail; some of the judges declared the law unconstitutional. But 25 were still in jail. In some cases, as in Los Angeles and Seattle, some were freed only to be rearrested promptly under new warrants worded to fit the new law. For these the test would have to go to higher courts.

Still others were on the road into exile. Thirty-six years ago Beatrice Siskind was brought to America by her parents fleeing Czarist Poland. Last week Beatrice Siskind, with a small daughter of her own now, was on her way back to the Polish Republic, a McCarran Law exile. Andrew Overgaard, old-time left-wing labor leader, sailed for Denmark; in Los Angeles Mrs. Louisa Bemis, veteran organizer of agricultural workers, was planning to leave for Guatemala; in New York City friends were preparing a send-off for Michael Salerno, who fled Mussolini's fascism in 1923.

A national Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights was scheduled in New York Dec. 2 and 3. Rev. John W. Darr Jr., chairman of the board of the Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, sponsor of the conference, said:

> "We are determined to defeat the McCarran attack on the liberties of non-citizens, since this attack threatens to destroy the rights of all Americans, citizens as well as non-citizens. We must intensify our efforts to win speedy freedom for all 25 non-citizens still held without bail, since their release will spell defeat for this first attempt to put into effect the un-American provisions of the McCarran Law."

SZIGETI KEPT OUT: World famous violinist Joseph Szigeti, who has been living in California since 1941, but who was born in Hungary, was "temporarily excluded" from the country when he came home after a European concert tour. His attorney admitted that he might have performed for Russian War Relief. Held at Ellis Island, he asked for his 249-year-old Guarnerius violin, some cheese and cold roast beef.

POLITICS

'Unbossed' Impy picks boss to pick plums

VINCENT Impellitteri, New York's new "unbossed" mayor, began his term last week by appointing as his administrative assistant (dispenser of patronage) Frank Sampson, ex-leader of Tammany Hall and still a Tammany district boss. Then the unbossed mayor went off on a Havana vacation. (His predecessor William O'Dwyer, now in Mexico as ambassador, preferred Florida).

In Manhattan's Yorkville district, Marcantonio was back at work in his office crowded with men and women coming to him for help and advice. They were still his constituents. He said:

> "My plans for the future are no different from my activities in the past. I intend to continue to fight for the same things for which I have been fighting in the past 14 years.
>
> "My vote was 42% of the total . . . larger than the Republican vote by 15,000, larger than the Democratic vote by about 11,000 and larger than the so-called Liberal Party vote by more than 30,000. What is more, my vote represents a 16% increase over 1948."

Benson for President

Summing up and looking ahead, Marc made these points in a statement to the N.Y. Compass:

> Those of us who are fighting on this issue (peace) today are in the same position as the early Republicans when they fought it out on the issue of abolition. The onslaught of events wiped out the Whig Party, just as this election definitely wiped out the Americans for Democratic Action and the Liberal Party as a political force. The defeat of ex-liberals like Bowles, Douglas and others who surrendered to the war program merely illustrates the obvious: surrender means defeat. . . . There are only two sides—Republican and Democratic leaders who favor a program of war and everything that goes with it, and those of us who fight for peace. That is how simple the issue is, and it is rapidly approaching a crisis.
>
> . . . So it is the issue and the events and the uniting with more and more people who are ready to fight for peace that will make the American Labor Party stronger. The ALP will emerge as the powerful political force in the next two years in the State of New York. What I have said about the American Labor Party is equally applicable nationally to the Progressive Party. I now publicly propose Elmer Benson [PP national chairman, former governor of Minnesota] as the candidate of the Progressive Party in 1952 to make the fight in this crisis.

Discussion of plans for 1952 is expected at the party's national committee meeting in New York, Dec. 2-3.

Montana does well

HERE are late Progressive Party election returns:

MONTANA: John T. Goforth, PP candidate for state legislature from Silver Bow County, polled 40% of the winning vote. His 4,439 was an increase of 1,000 over the 1948 PP vote. Another PP candidate for the legislature, William T. Warner, polled 4,101 votes. Both are miners, members of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, Butte Local 1.

OREGON: Incomplete returns gave Harlin Talbert, PP candidate for Senate, 7,180 votes; Vaughn S. Albertson for Congress, 1,141.

COLORADO: Tillman H. Erb, independent progressive for Congress: 1,423.

NEW JERSEY: Final returns gave Katharine Van Orden (PP candidate for Congress, 12th CD) 2,204. Incomplete returns from the 3d CD gave PP congressional candidate Mrs. Kather Frances Leber 900. While police hunted Communists in Jersey City for failing to register under the municipal ordinance, 557 Jersey City citizens voted for James Evans, 538 for David White, Communist Party candidates for free-

holder. The Hudson County CP total was 1,187; local papers called it a protest against the ordinance. Essex County, which last year had a CP vote of 914, gave Elwood Dean, CP candidate for county clerk, 3,211.

FARM

Minnesotans dump do-nothing leaders

A YEAR ago delegates to the Minnesota Farmers Union convention were confronted with a hand-picked right-wing candidate for president, Roy Wiseth. He unseated progressive Einar Kuivinen. Two months ago top leaders of the national office tried to move in and unseat Fred Stover, fighting progressive leader of the Iowa Farmers Union. Stover beat them. But something was happening in the Farmers Union, traditionally progressive, traditionally democratic. As Stover himself put it:

> "The one question which has not been settled in our union is whether we are going to have democracy from the grass roots up, or dictatorship from the top down. This fight must be won."

A week ago the fight was fairly well won at this year's Minnesota convention. For weeks a six-man rank-and-file committee, including two county presidents and a state executive board member, campaigned for a new state leadership, described the Wiseth administration as "one of incompetence and inaction." They also accused national president James Patton of "running out in the fight for parity and peace." For the national leadership of the union they had this advice:

> "Spend less time trying to cover up for the bungling in Washington and more time fighting for the Farmers Union program regardless of which politicians' toes get stepped on. . . . America needs an independent fighting farm organization as never before, free of strings to political bosses."

OUT OF THE GULLY: At the convention, delegates defeated right-wing Roy Wiseth by two to one, elected Edwin Christianson of Gully, Minn., a middle-road candidate who formerly served as vice-president under Kuivinen. In addition they went down the line for their traditional progressive program, voted full support for the Brannan Farm Plan, for world disarmament, for peaceful use of atomic energy under public ownership. They criticized U.S. big business investments abroad as a threat to peace. When the program committee deleted a plank opposing universal military training, the delegates wrote it back in.

The rank and file distributed to delegates three resolutions condemning "the wild hysteria over communism," opposing Harry Truman's foreign policy, criticizing the national leadership of the Union. On the opening day Emil Syftestad, general manager of the Union's big regional cooperative handling gas and oil, denounced the resolutions as "junk," urged members to stick to building co-ops and to forget about China and Korea.

For its reporting of Farmers Union affairs and support for its rank-and-file insistence on grass roots democracy and progressivism, the NATIONAL GUARDIAN was bitterly attacked by Syftestad.

PATTON & POINT 4: Later in the convention, Wiseth ordered all rank-and-file resolutions to be collected, threatened to throw out of the hall any delegates who wouldn't surrender them.

Pres. Patton did not make the tough speech some had expected. Sensitive to recent criticism, he defended his stand on domestic policies, insisted he was still for the Brannan Plan, against the McCarran Act and for democracy within the organization. On foreign affairs he was vague, but advocated spending billions of dollars on Harry Truman's Point 4 program. Describing the U.S. as in the midst of a great revolution, brought about by technology making possible undreamed-of abundance, he said he was happy that the era of colonialism is at an end.

ATOMIZED ABUNDANCE: Despite Patton's optimism, unrest on U.S. family-sized farms was still there. Plain as

day was Truman's abandonment of the Brannan Plan; nearly as plain were the eventual effects of government slashes in non-defense, non-military expenditures which hit the farmer hard. These are the cuts that hurt them most as the abundance of the U.S. goes to war:

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Item	Description & Colors	Size in Inches	Reg. Value	Guardian Price
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1	White with blue border	60x60	$ 6.50	$ 4.50
2a	White with colored border*	56x68	7.50	4.90
2b	White with colored border*	56x83	8.50	5.50
2c	White with colored border*	54x54	5.50	3.50
3	White flowers on white	56x68	7.50	4.90
	IN FLORAL COLORS:			
4a	Gold, purple, beige or blue	56x56	7.50	5.00
4b	Gold, green, brown or blue	56x68	9.50	6.00
4c	Rose, purple, pink, blue or gold	69x83	13.50	9.00
4d	Brown, gold purple or blue	56x83	12.50	8.00
	White with Blue Border			
5a	(with 6 napkins)	60x60	11.50	6.50
5b	(with 8 napkins)	60x83	17.50	10.50
5c	White on white with 6 napkins	69x83	20.00	15.00
	*Colored borders in lovely shades of rose, pink, gold, blue, purple. (In specifying colors or colored border, give 2 or 3 preferences)			
FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA:				
6	Pure linen double damask Hemstitched, 8 matching hemstitched napkins. Cream color.	56x84	20.00	14.50
7	Pure linen. Open work design. 8 matching napkins. Blue, gold, green	58x78	20.00	13.00
7a	Pure linen. Open work design. 8 matching napkins. Blue, gold, green	58x78	20.00	13.00
8	Pure linen. White double damask Hemstitched. 12 matching napkins. Floral design	60x100	23.00	18.00
9	Pure linen. Open work design. 12 matching napkins. Gold, blue	64x104	23.00	18.00
9a	Pure linen damask. Floral design. 12 extra large napkins. Blue, green, white	64x104	30.00	20.00
FROM BELGIUM:				
10	Rayon damask. Floral design. 8 matching napkins. Grey, cream, blue, green	64x84	18.00	14.00
FROM IRELAND:				
11	Pure linen white damask. 8 matching napkins	66x84	25.00	19.50
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12	Before hemming. Pure Irish linen. Threads drawn by hand	43x38		5.50 a pair
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TOWELS:				
14	Pure linen Kitchen Towel	18x34		7.50 per doz.
14a	Pure linen Kitchen Towel	16x32		6.75 per doz.
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Books for progressives

What Mao is up to—plain as your nose

By Cedric Belfrage

Probably only a few persons in the world really know what Mao is up to—the men around him and . . . advisers in the Kremlin. . . . The West wants the Chinese . . . to act like respectable citizens.

N. Y. Times, Nov. 12.

AS the representatives of one-quarter of mankind are for the first time graciously permitted to sit down with the distinguished statesmen from El Salvador and Santa Domingo, this is the kind of imbecility that fills our "serious" press. Let us thank Confucius and Henry Schuman for the small mercy that there is a book in the stores which makes "what Mao is up to" reasonably clear. Will anyone read it?

FROM CHINESE FILM, THE CITY RETURNS TO LIFE
"We will repair the dynamo in time and give light to the city"

Mao Tse-tung, says the British-born poet-novelist Robert Payne who knows China and the peasant's son at the head of its government, "has always meant precisely what he says" and "knows exactly where he is going." He said where he was going a quarter-century ago when (with 2,000,000 of them already organized by him into peasants' associations) he anchored China's democratic revolution to its peasants and, internationally, to the Soviet Union as its one reliable friend. His life story—capably if sketchily told by Payne, with a wealth of provocative detail about Mao's personality—is an example of consistency in thought and action almost unique in our time. As far as "advisers in the Kremlin" are concerned, the story demonstrates the total absurdity of the notion that all who are friends of the Soviet Union must be stooges thereof. (Mao had Russian advisers, differed with them, was proved right, has remained a friend).

BAFFLINGLY SIMPLE: "What Mao is up to" is an enigma only to those who have forgotten, or who never knew, what "Old Hundred Names"—the common man of China and of the whole world—is up to. "Old Hundred Names" is up to nothing more complicated than securing a full belly and creative happiness for himself and family. Even if "the West" does not think so, he sees this as an eminently respectable way to behave. There are 475,000,000 of him in China; to almost every one Mao, who knew how to get these things, is now a legendary hero.

Poet, philosopher, heir to the ancient Chinese dream of the "Great Unity," genius alike as military strategist and dramatizer of revolutionary aims (in people's slogans, dances, plays), Mao is a man whose greatness in the epic of humanity can hardly yet be properly measured. In the context of the time and the country where it is published, Payne's attempt to measure it makes a serious beginning. He implies concern lest Mao may be too inclined to simplify and dogmatize: in 1945, Mao refused to believe that the British and Dutch could stop being imperialistic in India and Indonesia or that Britain's government was genuinely socialist.

DOGMAS & DUNG: Developments since then seem to have proved Mao right rather than Payne. Yet Payne admits that so far Mao, the Marxist, has consistently attacked the use of Marxism as "a kind of magic truth with which one can cure any disease." On "dogmas," Payne quotes him as saying that they are "more useless than cow dung. Dung can be used as fertilizer."

The essence of Mao's greatness, which Payne understands, is that being himself a peasant he has "kept close to the earth and to the peasants": he has not lost faith in the people, nor forgotten (what his antagonist Chiang never learned) that leaders must not only lead but be humble about it.

"Above all," he often said, "we must conquer complacency and pride"—and contemptuously compared empty, arrogant pontifications either by political leaders or writers with "the foot-bindings of a lazy old woman, long and foul-smelling."

THE SUBVERSIVE TRUTH: The triumph in Peking last year of China's partly-socialized "democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants"—blueprinted in the first All-China Congress of Soviets in 1931, fought for through two decades of epic struggle—is described briefly by Payne: the masses of "madly waving people," the victorious people's armies with all their equipment—even their uniforms—captured from U.S. supplies to Chiang and from the Japanese. A day-to-day account of life in Peking before, during and after the change of regimes is in **Peking Diary** by Dr. Derk Bodde, American scholar of Chinese history and philosophy who was doing a research job there.

More mature morally than politically, and with admittedly little contact with ordinary non-intellectual Chinese, Dr. Bodde has written a book which is small in stature against the titanic background of the events it records, but which is to be recommended as a first reader for Americans with minds still open to the truth. He makes no bones about the Kuomintang government's "cupidity, corruption, cynicism, apathy, stupidity and inability to make contact with the common man," nor about the welcome given the new regime by practically everyone. He documents the lying role of our press regarding China, and suggests that our policy toward that country might be more effective if we took the trouble to find out what really goes on there.

Owen Lattimore thought this would be a good idea, too—and look what happened to him. Perhaps the truth may be that we are not ignorant of what has happened in China; we merely dare not admit it—for if we did, the whole Alice-in-Wonderland picture of the world which we have created for our "respectable citizens" would crash to the ground.

MAO TSE-TUNG, RULER OF RED CHINA: by Robert Payne. Henry Schuman, New York. 302 pp. $3.50.

PEKING DIARY—A YEAR OF REVOLUTION: by Derk Bodde. Henry Schuman, New York. 292 pp. $3.75.

The march of culture

The first atom-bomb movie, **High Frontier,** is in the works at RKO studio, Hollywood. Denying reports that it will portray the dropping of A-bombs on Russia, the studio said: "It actually deals with a lead B-36 squadron which is trained and constantly ready to take off for any target in the world with a load of A-bombs. . . . The highlight is a mission to drop an experimental bomb on the polar cap."

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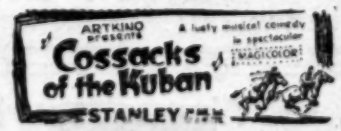

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